"From the statements I have previously made as to the distribution of the Jibaro tribes it appears that their social organization is loose. In fact, the whole people is split up into a great number of tribes which in their turn are sub-divided into smaller clans or septs comprising a few families closely related to one another by blood. These sub-tribes do not form village communities; each family inhabits its own big communal house (hēa), but these are not situated close to one another, they lie scattered here and there in the virgin forest. Generally one has to march for one or several hours to arrive at the next house. Each Jibaro house forms in fact a separate and independent social, political, and economic unit with its own household, its own plantations in the vicinity of the house, and its own ruler or chief, the oldest family father who, at any rate in time of peace, is not controlled by anybody. It is much the same feature that we meet in other parts of tropical South America, where the impenetrable virgin forests necessarily lead to social disintegration, which is further increased by the general anti-social tendencies of the Indians. The state of things found among the Jibaros, however, is in many respects unique.

Their society is thus based on the family and the blood tie. Only such sub-tribes as recognize some sort of consanguinity display a feeling of solidarity: the rest, although they speak the same language, are looked upon, not only as outsiders, but as downright natural enemies, a feature which will be further illustrated in the part dealing

with their wars. It is as a rule between the different sub-tribes that the wars of extermination have occurred.

Still, as appears from their history, there have been occasions when they have been able to overcome the natural antipathy separating them from one another, and to unite against a common enemy. This common enemy has been the white man, who has so often threatened [184] the liberty of the people; but the alliances, such as that for instance in 1599, have been exceptional and wholly due to the influence of a single, eminent personality."

31: Danielsson--83-84 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro-1
116, 121, 571

"As often has been pointed out, the advance of sociology depends principally on the development of objective techniques of determining social interaction in human populations and on the formulation of universal laws for describing this interaction. The principal obstacle to the development of these new techniques and to the formulation of general laws is the difficulty of undertaking experiments. This difficulty is, of course, chiefly one of ethical attitude. Sociological experiments are not yet in public opinion regarded as naturally permissible as experiments in the natural sciences. This attitude is a real and considerable difficulty. The idea underlying the present study is that while we are waiting for a change of public opinion sociometric studies among primitive peoples (the term 'primitive' here of course meaning 'not having a written language') might in some cases give us a substitute for experiments, or in any case that studies of this type might contribute to the basic work on sociological theory and method.

The characteristics to be sought among primitive peoples which would be favorable for the sociological researcher with the mentioned point of view in mind are the following:

1. Relative isolation from other primitive tribes and from other cultural groups, thus limiting the number of disturbing influences.

2. Small number of individuals, permitting not only a sampling, but a complete canvass.

3. A simple social structure, at least in comparison with the civilized [84] societies ('those having a written language'). The structure is generally simpler among prinitive peoples of course principally due to the fact that indirect communication, in spaceand time, is very limited. As a consequence, in a primitive society basic sociologica patterns underlying all human behavior could more easily be found.

As a primitive people, the Jibaro Indians from Western Amazonas, chosen for he present study, seem to fulfill these requirements."

31; Danielsson--84-86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 592, 342, 361

"The only social unit is the family, which term is used for describing all individuals related by birth or by intermarriage and living in the same house. Each such house forms an independent social, political and economic [86] unit. The houses have large dimensions (fifty by one hundred feet is not an uncommon size), and a house may contain up to fifty persons. The family houses are scattered in sparse clusters along the rivulets. Two houses are seldom found together, and the distance between the separate houses generally varies from one to five miles. (The locations of each family house dealt with in this study are shown with Roman figures on Map II. The houses indicated are all that exist in the mapped area.)"

31: Danielsson--89 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 186

"The present study is of the 'atomic' type.(4) Each individual is regarded as a unit integrated in a system, in the same way as the atoms form certain patterns in the so-called material world. The interaction between these units is in our case described in terms of attraction and repulsion.

The field-work was made easy by the fact that the Jibaros are extremely aware of and outspoken about their relations to each other. The continuous wars and fights have sharpened their feelings of friendship and hostility. As an example of this can be mentioned the not uncommon habit of the family head of beginning the day with a loud and fierce recitation of the names of enemies, so that the family members may not forget them. Repulsions, which sometimes have been difficult to record in our civilized societies, turned out to be even easier to get than the attractions."

"4. The point of departure is to be found in the works of J.L. Moreno and George A. Lundberg, as presented in such publications as for instance: J.L. Moreno: Who Shall Survive? Beacon House, N.Y., 1934; and 'Sociometry in Relation to Other Social Sciences', Sociometry, Vol.1, 1937; Lundberg: Foundations of Sociology, McMillan, 1939. 'Social Attraction Patterns in a Village', Sociometry, no.3-4, 1938, and 'The Growth of the Social Sciences', The American Journal of Sociology, no.6, 1945."

31: Danielsson--90-91 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 128, 571

"The cohesion within each group is shown in Table III. It is strikingly high. In all the geographical groups some few individuals have a central position chosen by the majority. Few or no choices are made by individuals from outside their own geographical group and few choices go to outsiders. The centripetal tendency is pronounced. The cohesion is computed by the following formula:

$$\frac{\frac{Ca+Ci}{I}}{\frac{Co}{0}} + \frac{O(Ca+Ci)}{ICo}$$

[91]

where the letters indicate:

I = Number of individuals in in-group
0 = Number of individuals in out-group who receive choices from the in-group
Ci = Number of choices coming in
Co = Number of choices going out
Ca = Number of choices among the members of the in-group"

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro

" TABLE III

Cohesion Within Each Geographical Group

Group	Choices per capita per members of in-group
Patuca	21.00
Yurupaza	9.50
Yaupi	10.66

This centripetal tendency is graphically demonstrated in the Charts II, IV and VI. If we for instance take Chart VI, the I (the number of individuals in the in-group) is 3 (IIa, VI6D, and V123D), 0—16, * Ci—26, Co—16, and Ca—6. The result according to the formula:

$$\frac{16(6+26)}{3 \times 16} = \frac{512}{48} = 10.67 =$$

* Not indicated on the graph.

"In Charts II-VII [KS: see pp. 94-99] some dominant groupings are shown. For the sake of lucidity the relations between all the marginal individuals are not shown. Only for the central constellations with which we are primarily concerned is the complete web of in-and out-going choices charted.(6) [92]

In Chart II, the attraction pattern, Patuca, the central figure V120E, chosen by everybody, is a ceremony man. Priests in the proper sense of the word do not exist among the Jibaros, but there is always a special performer of the rites during the important feasts, the victory feast, the tobacco feast, etc. The term whusa is used for the ceremony man which means 'old man'. As indicated in the chart (three circles) V120E is also the oldest one in this geographical group, having lived three generations.

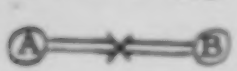
"6. Each Arabic figure refers to one person. The Roman figures indicate membership of family house, and the capital letters indicate relationship by birth. The number of the circles for each individual indicates the age, one for each generation of descendants that he has lived (as the Jibaros have no system for computing the age comparable to ours). Attraction and repulsion are indicated in the following way: after George A. Lundberg: Foundations of Sociology, McMillan, 1939, page 352, which follows closely Moreno's original instructions in Who Shall Survive?, p. 114-16, Beacon House, 1934."

In Chart III, the repulsion pattern, Patuca, the individual V17D, has an equally central position. He is a sorcerer, with which word is meant a person trained in the magic arts, possessing the power of harming and curing people.(7) The great strength that he possesses is indicated by the fact that although he is repelled by all the individuals 1-16, he is in his turn indifferent. He regards them as inferior and harmless, as they do not have his knowledge of the magic arts.

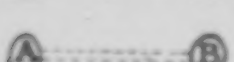
In Chart IV, the attraction pattern, Yurupaza, the individual IV15C, is the chief in war, and 119C the ceremony man. At the time of the study a war is being waged against the Yaupis and IV15C, who is the most experienced one, has been appointed. In Chart V, the repulsion pattern, Yurupaza, a typical conflict situation, due to violation of traditional rights, is depicted. The family groups I and V are enemies of the two brothers III, 10D and III, 11D, and the hostility is mutual. The reason seemed to be a quarrel over the fishing rights in the river. (As can be seen on Map II family house III is situated between family houses I and V along the river). The difference between this repulsion pattern and that on Chart III, where the cause is sorcery, should be noticed. In Chart III the relations are repulsion-indifference, in Chart V repulsion-repulsion.

"7. The sorcerer is not always a professional man. The term medicine-man is generally used for a professional sorcerer."

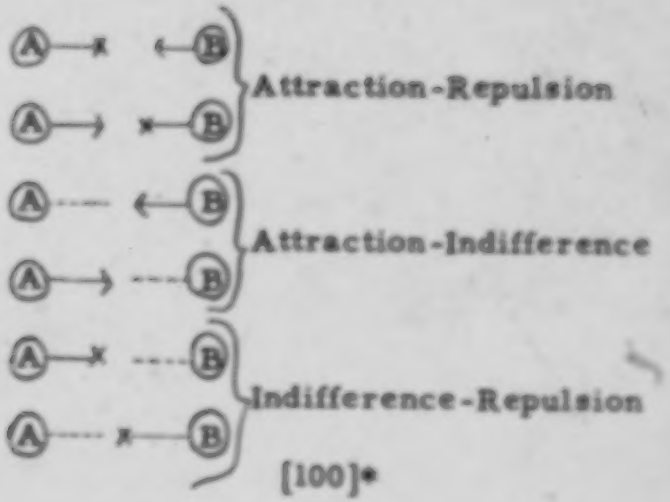
Mutual attraction



Mutual repulsion



Mutual indifference



[100]*

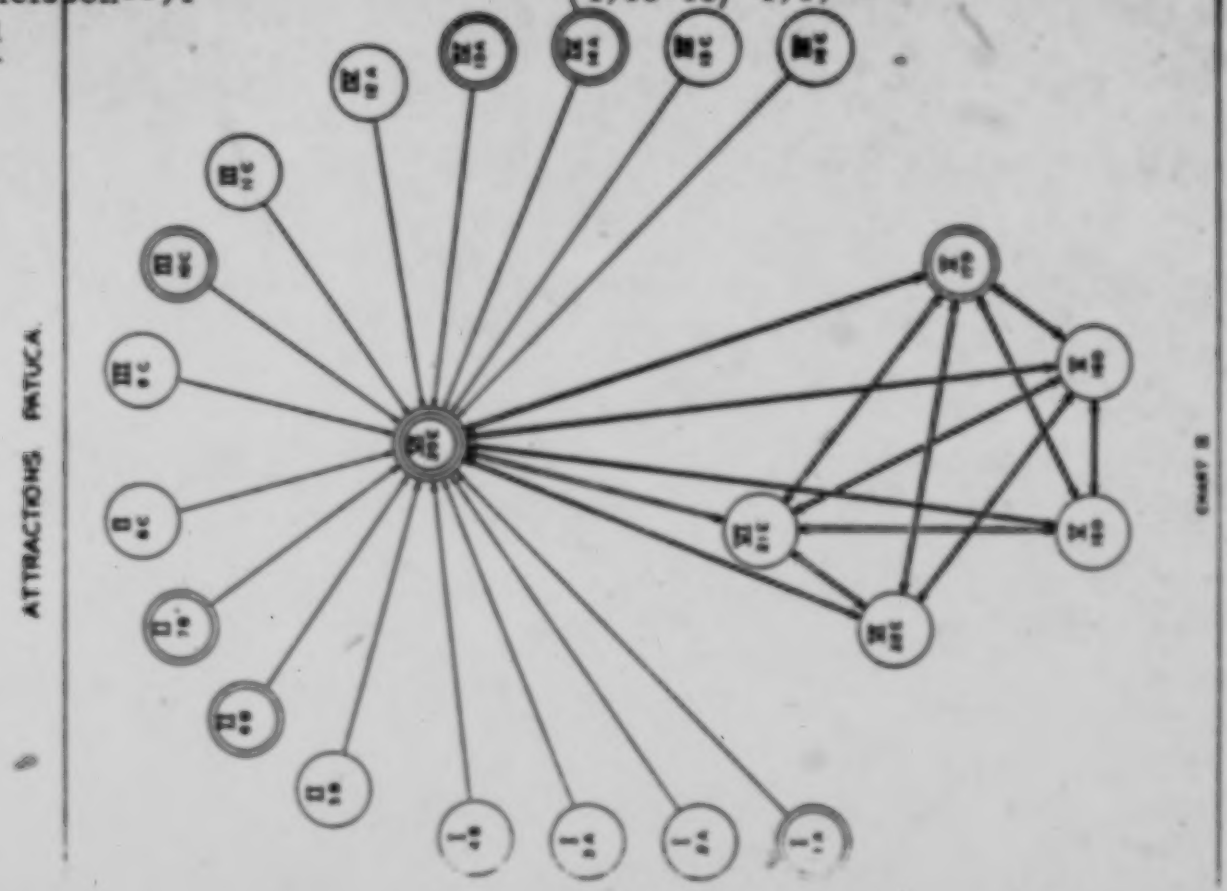
* [KS: Pages 93 through 99 contain charts.]

In Chart VI, the attraction pattern, Yaupi, the clevage into two groups is very apparent and corresponding to the geographical locations. Individuals 2-12 all chose IIA, and individuals 13-22 all chose V16D. Those central persons are both chiefs in war. They chose each other, thus uniting the two groups, and individual V123D, the ceremony man. The latter is evidently chosen because of the support from the two key-persons, who are the 'power behind the throne.' (A separate inquiry indicated that the majority wanted IV14C as ceremony man.) The reason why two chiefs in war were appointed, was that the Yaupis were waging two wars at the same time, one against the Yurupazas and another against a group further down the Santiago river (not included in the present study). IIA was a specialist on war against the former group and V16D on war against the latter group. In Chart VII, the repulsion pattern, Yaupi, the key-persons have interchanged their positions, which indicates that they both are practising black magic towards their respective out-groups."

31: Danielsson--94
116, 571

(1946-48) 1949

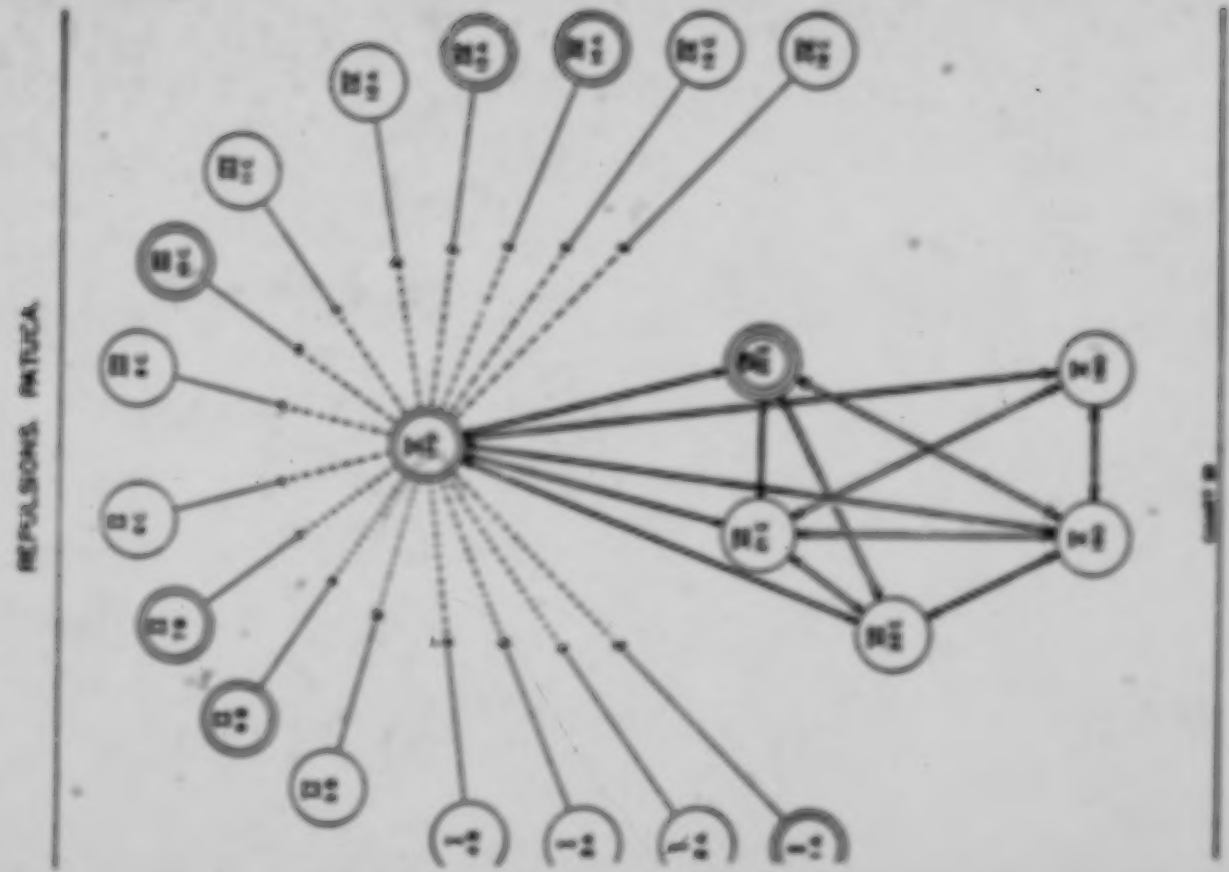
Jivaro



31: Danielsson--95
116, 571

(1946-48) 1949

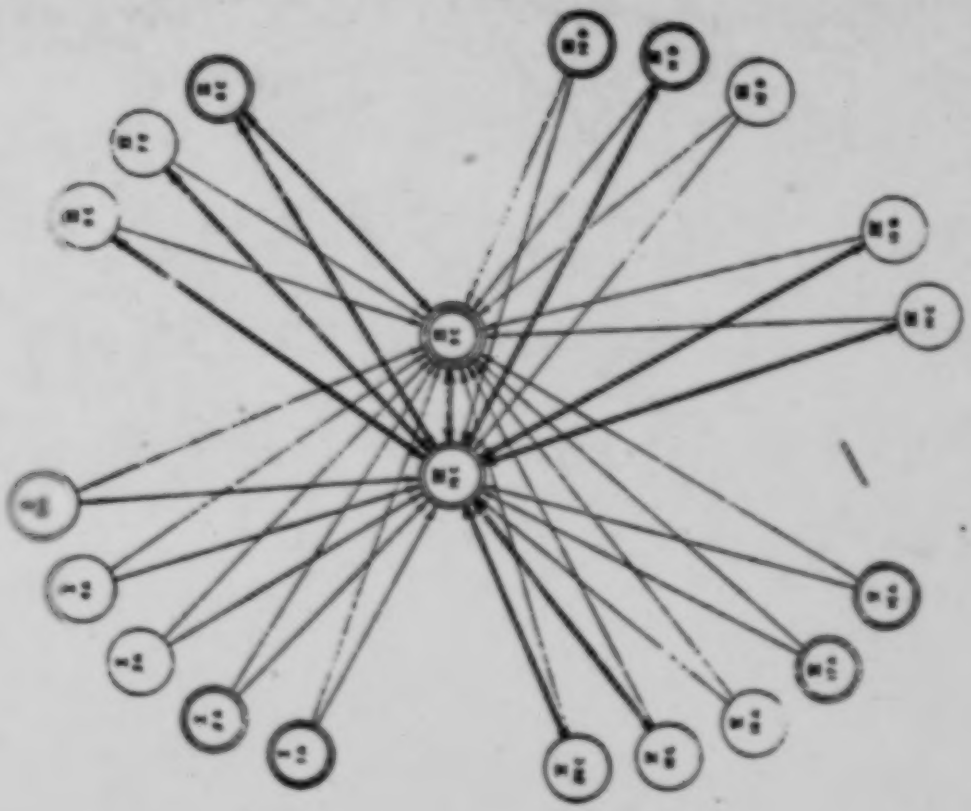
Jivaro



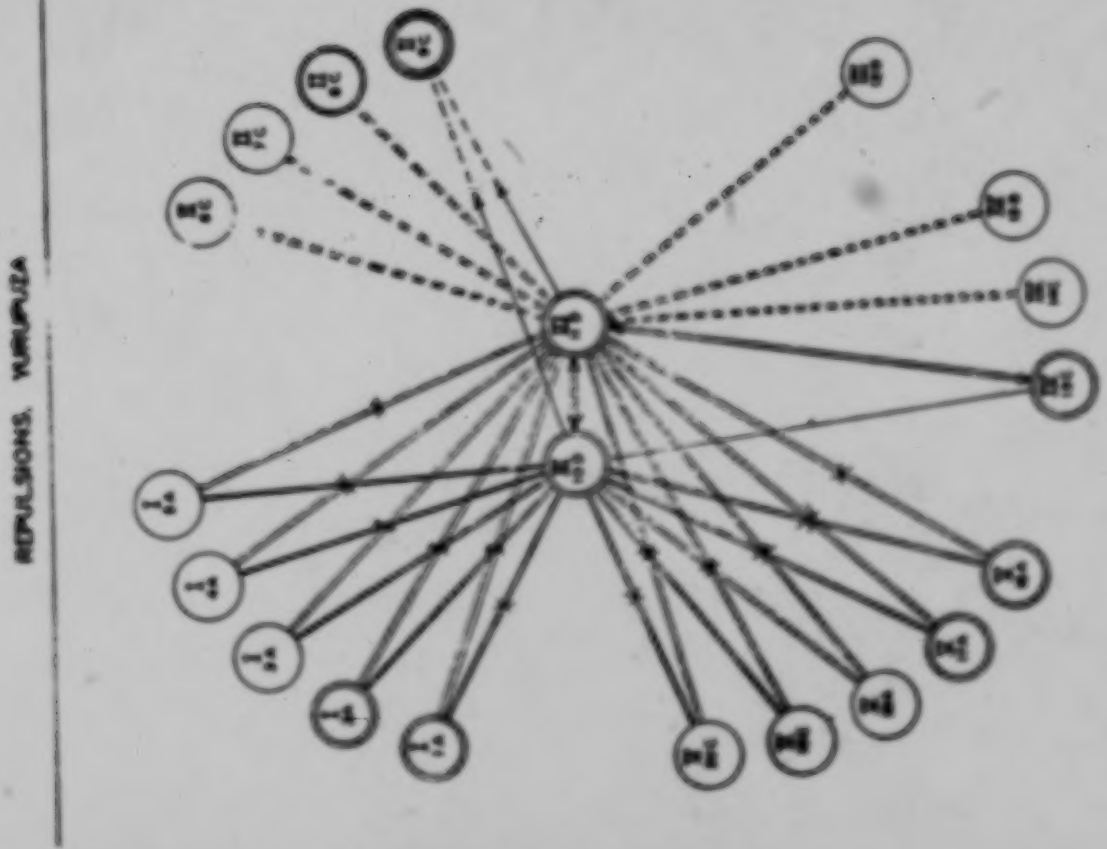
31: Danielsson--96
116, 571

(1946-48) 1949

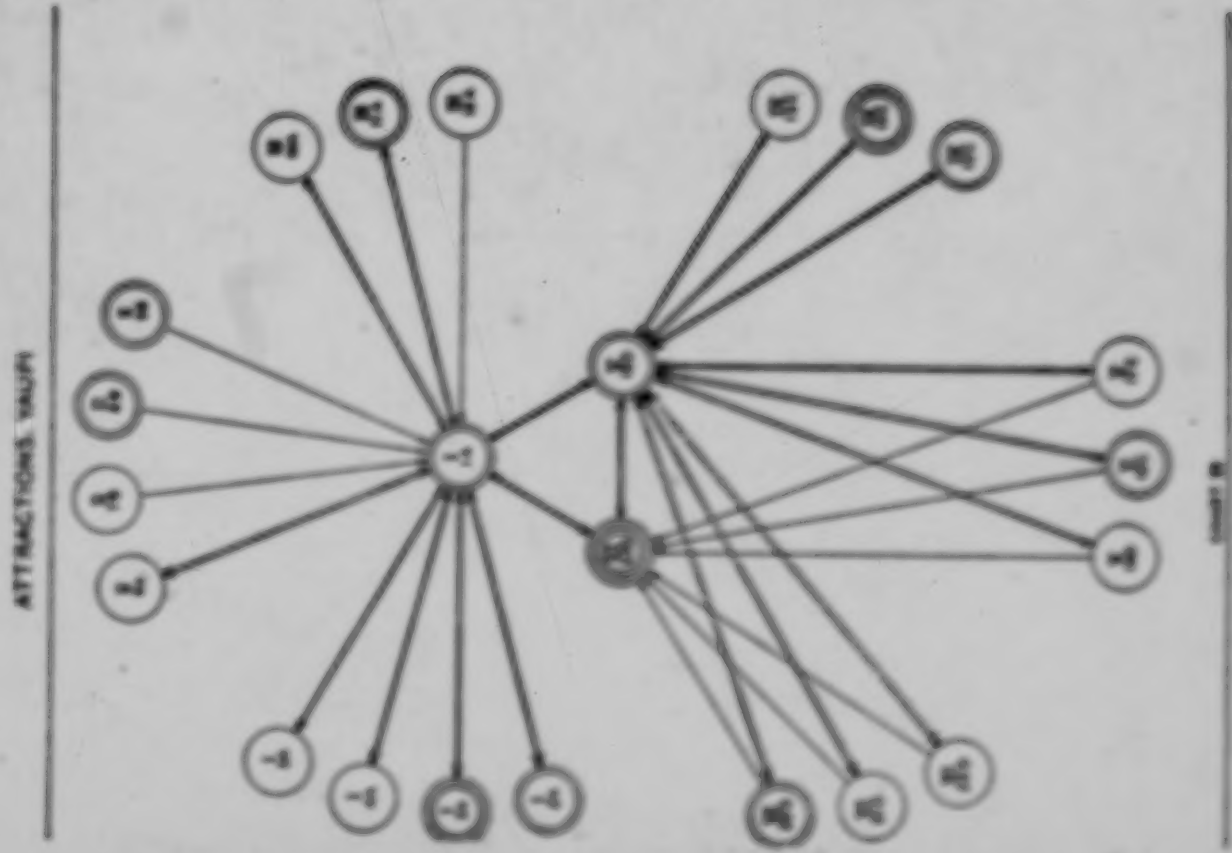
Jivaro



31: Danielsson--97 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



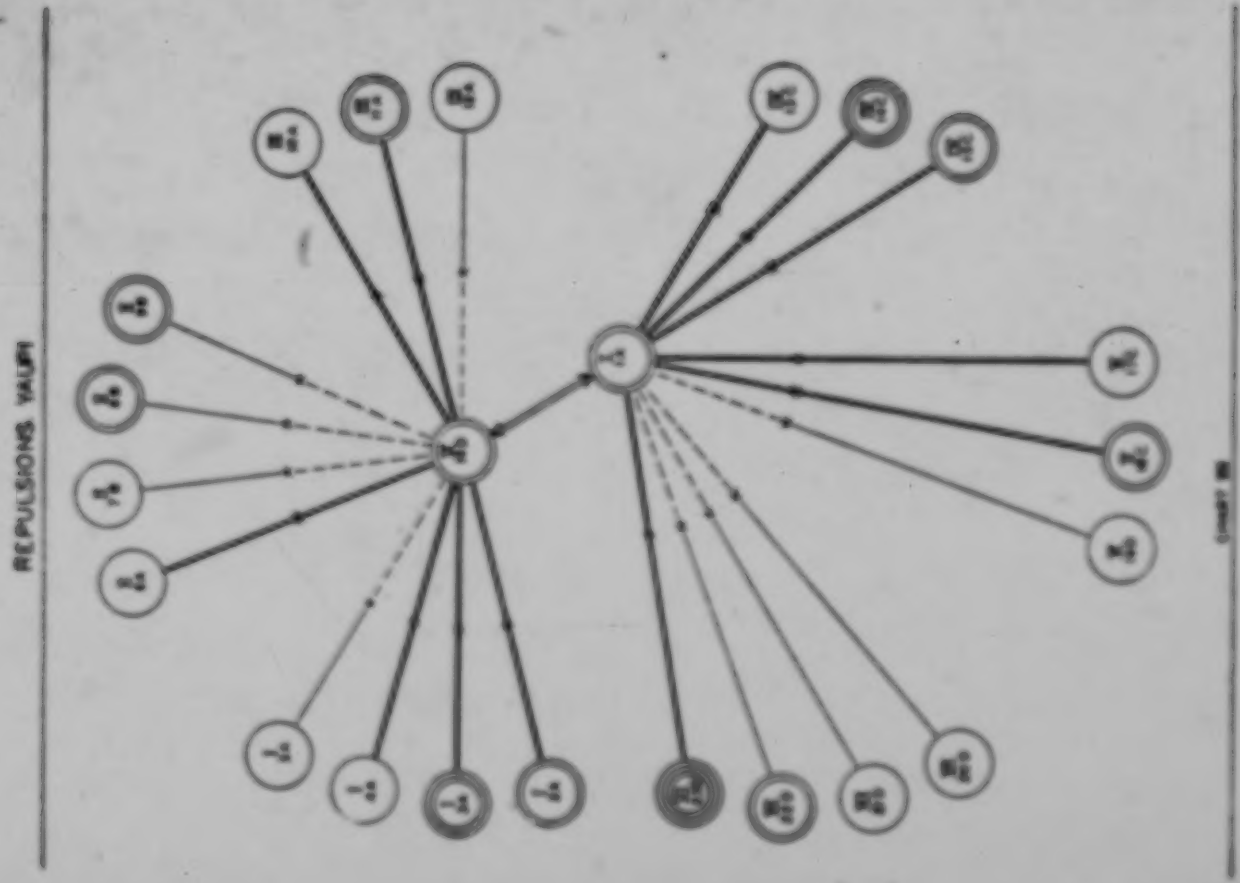
31; Danielsson--98 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571



31: Danielsson--99
116, 571

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro



31: Danielsson--100 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571

"Let us now ask: What theoretical significance do these charts have, if any? I think the best answer would be: They seem to offer a possibility of operational definitions of conceptions for a long time dealt with in vague conceptual terms only. It seems obvious that such words as chief in war, ceremony man, and sorcerer can be defined from the positions in the charts (or from the figures in the tables). Definitions of the proposed types would be the following ones for instance:

1. Chief in war = an individual receiving more than 50% of the total number of possible choices and being at least of an age of two generations. (E.g. IV15C in chart IV, IIA and V16D in chart VI).

2. Ceremony man = an individual, receiving more than 50% of the total number of possible choices and being at least of an age of three generations or regarded as being among the 25% oldest individuals. (E.g. V120E in chart II, II9C in chart IV and V123D in chart VI.)

3. Sorcerer = an individual, exposed to more than 50% of the total number of possible repulsion choices and in his turn demonstrating at least 25% indifferent responses. (E.g. V17D in chart III and IIA and V16D in chart VII.)

We are of course here only trying to point out the possibility of a special type of definitions. The figures and percentages indicated as suggestions correspond to the conditions in the three geographical groups studied, but if used more generally, they have naturally to be changed and refined by further research."

31: Danielsson--101 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571

"The limitation of the study to the verbally expressed attractions and repulsions of the male adults in the area indicated, was deliberately chosen as it made it possible to cover the greatest number of geographical groups in the time at my disposal. This limitation, however, immediately raises some questions about the relation of the chosen group to other groups and to other factors, as for instance:

a) What is the correlation between verbal and nonverbal behavior?

b) What is the correlation between (a) attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and (b) patterns of other kinds?

c) What is the correlation between the answers of the men and the women?

d) What is the correlation between repulsions and geographical space?"

TABLE IV

Total Number of Visits of Tribe Members During Two Weeks in Patuca

Family paying the visit		Family receiving the visit					
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	Men	x	14	19	22	0	23
	Women	x	27	12	38	0	58
II	Men	17	x	14	23	0	27
	Women	5	x	24	39	0	31
III	Men	12	17	x	14	0	21
	Women	19	21	x	18	0	23
IV	Men	21	18	27	x	0	26
	Women	52	37	41	x	0	58
V	Men	0	0	0	0	x	31
	Women	0	0	0	2	x	28
VI	Men	7	5	2	8	17	x
	Women	12	8	9	3	19	x

The unit is one individual visit.

31: Danielsson--101-102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116. 571

"The reliability of the verbal expressions as an index for non-verbal behaviors has of course to be checked separately in each case. This was done among the Patucas. The result is shown by a comparison between Table V, where all visits during two weeks are listed, and Table VII where the oral testimonials from the same group are listed. The overlapping is almost complete. The houses of which the members are indicated as enemies are not visited. Table IV gives at the same time a good measure of the degree of friendship. Family VI for instance of which the member V120E [102] has a central position in the attraction pattern on Chart II is paid the highest number of visits.(8)

"8. See, Charles B. Loomis: 'Sociometries and the Study of New Rural Communities', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

31: Danielsson--102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602, 582

"In our so-called civilized societies the correlations between the attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and the more formal patterns, such as familial relationships, economic status, occupation, club membership, etc., have to be taken into consideration. In the Jibaro society there are no formal patterns except the familial pattern. How the Jibaros designate familial relationship is shown on Chart I. The Jibaro family is patripotestal. The children use, for instance, the same word, aparu, for their biological father as well as for their paternal uncles. No parallel exists to this on the mother's side. The parents use the same word, nauanda, both for the daughters and the daughters-in-law. For the son-in-law, however, another term, aweru, is used than for the son, uchi. A marriage between cousins on the father's side or between a paternal uncle and his niece is regarded as incest, but on the mother's side marriages of these types are regarded as natural."

"As could be expected the blood relationship is highly correlated with attraction.(9) Table V shows the interaction within each family house, in all the three geographical groups, computed after the same formula used on page eleven:

$$\frac{\text{total choices made} \times 100}{N^2 - N}$$

TABLE V

Interaction Within Each Family House

Patuca family no.	Percentage	Yurupaza family no.	Percentage	Yaupi family no.	Percentage
I	100.00%	I	100.00%	I	100.00%
II	66.66%	II	100.00%	II	92.22%
III	100.00%	III	100.00%	III	100.00%
IV	100.00%	IV	33.33%	IV	100.00%
V	100.00%	V	100.00%	V	100.00%
VI	100.00%			VI	100.00%

"9. Irwin T. Sanders: 'Sociometric Work with a Bulgarian Woodcutting Group', Sociometry, Vol. II, 1939."

In all the groups not showing a 100% interaction (Patuca II, Yurupaza IV, Yaupi II) the reason seemed to be a recent incorporation into the family group of a son-in-law (among the Jibaros the son-in-law frequently [103] moves over to the house of the father-in-law). In these cases (II8C among B-members in Patuca II, IV13B among C-members in Yurupaza IV, and 116A among B-members in Yaupi II) (see Charts II, IV and VI) the arrival of the new-comer is resented by some of the old members of the family house."

31; Danielsson--103 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602

"Table VI shows the interaction between all persons related by birth, computed by the same formula as in the last case.

TABLE VI

Interaction Between Persons Related by Birth

Patuca relationship	Percentage	Yurupaza relationship	Percentage	Yaupi relationship	Percentage
A	100.00%	A	92.88%	A	93.05%
B	100.00%	B	100.00%	B	100.00%
C	90.00%	C	85.71%	C	90.50%
D	100.00%	D	100.00%	D	83.33%
E	100.00%				

The figures seem to be somewhat lower than in the previous case, but any definite conclusions are of course impossible to draw from such limited material. (It should be noted that the letters repeated for each geographical group have no reference to one another. Thus the members from the A-group in Patuca are not related to the members of the A-groups in Yurupaza or Yaupi)."

Sir Danielsson--103-105
116, 571, 621, 186

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro-1

"The overlapping of the answers of the male and female adults was studied in one geographical group, the Patucas. The result is shown in Table VII. As seen, the correspondence is almost perfect. Whether this holds true for all the geographical groups, and whether the women to women patterns correspond with those for men, only further research can demonstrate. It seems, however, likely that the men's opinion in the present matter to a large extent determine the women's also in other groups. This is supposed not because of a complete submission of the women--which is far from true--but because of the strict division of labor and interests between the sexes. Formation of alliances and actions against enemies are part of the 'politics' and as such belong exclusively to the masculine sphere.

Eventually an attempt was made to determine the relation between repulsions and geographical space. As already has been pointed out [Part I, pp. 6-7], great hostility exists between the different geographical groups. In order to ascertain the degree of hostility all male individuals of the three previous groups (Patuca, Yurupaza, Yaupi) and of another Jibaro group, otherwise not dealt with in this study, the Huambisas, living farther down the Santiago River, were interviewed about their feelings toward the [105]members of their respective out-groups. The number and percentage of individuals in each group answering that all the members of the other geographical

groups were enemies are indicated in Table VIII, column I. The figures for those who answered that one or more individuals from the other groups were friends are given in column II in the same table."

31: Danielsson--105 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 186

"As could be suspected there is a positive correlation between the degree of hostility and the geographical space. It seems likely that a correlation as indicated in Table IX could be found in the whole Jibaro country.

TABLE IX

Correlation Between Hostility and Geographical Space

Geographical groups	Approximate distance	Hostility in percentage (as in Table VIII)
Yurupaza-Huambiza	50 miles	100%
Huambiza-Yurupaza	50 miles	100%
Patuca-Huambiza	40 miles	100%
Huambiza-Patuca	40 miles	100%
Huambiza-Yaupi	30 miles	100%
Yaupi-Huambiza	30 miles	95.83%
Yaupi-Yurupaza	25 miles	91.66%
Patuca-Yaupi	25 miles	91.3%
Yurupaza-Yaupi	25 miles	90.90%
Yaupi-Patuca	25 miles	83.33%
Patuca-Yurupaza	15 miles	82.60%
Yurupaza-Patuca	15 miles	81.81%

TABLE VII

Correspondence Between Male and Female Verbal Responses in Patuca

Expressed by family		Expressed towards family I			II			III			IV			V			VI		
		Friendship	Hostility	Indifference	Friendship	Hostility	Indifference	Friendship	Hostility	Indifference	Friendship	Hostility	Indifference	Friendship	Hostility	Indifference	Friendship	Hostility	Indifference
I	4 men	x	x	x	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0
	14 women	x	x	x	14	0	0	14	0	0	14	0	0	0	14	0	14	0	0
II	5 men	5	0	0	x	x	x	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	0
	10 women	10	0	0	x	x	x	10	0	0	10	0	0	0	10	0	10	0	0
III	3 men	3	0	0	3	0	0	x	x	x	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0
	7 women	7	0	0	7	0	0	x	x	x	7	0	0	0	7	0	7	0	0
IV	5 men	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	x	x	x	0	5	0	5	0	0
	20 women	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	x	x	x	0	20	0	20	0	0
V	3 men	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	1	x	x	x	3	0	0
	8 women	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	x	x	x	8	0	0
VI	3 men	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	3	0	0	x	x	x
	6 women	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	x	x	x

The unit is one individual response.

Editorial note: Observe how this matrix (Table VII) of interfamily choices by sexes presents more rigorously the finding of hostility to the sorcerer shown in Chart III. Chart III isolates the interperson hostility; Table VII shows the resulting interfamily hostility and shows its extreme degree relative to all hostile interrelations among all the families.

TABLE VIII

Feelings of Hostility and Friendship Between the Different Geographical Groups

Feelings of the male individual from		toward the groups of Patuca: all are enemies I	Patuca: one or more are friends II	Yurupaxa I	Yurupaxa II	Yaupi I	Yaupi II	Huambisa I	Huambisa II
Patuca	(23)	x	x	19	4	21	2	23	0
		x	x	82.6%	17.4%	91.3%	8.7%	100%	0%
Yurupaxa	(22)	18	4	x	x	20	2	22	0
		81.81%	18.19%	x	x	90.9%	9.1%	100%	0%
Yaupi	(24)	20	4	22	2	x	x	23	1
		83.33%	16.67%	91.66%	8.34%	x	x	95.83%	4.17%
Huambisa	(31*)	31	0	31	0	31	0	x	x
		100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	x	x

* The actual number during our short stay. A party was out shooting.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untä*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

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754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jivaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

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tend to have a higher degree of unity than is normally the case.

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The relationship between a trading partner and his neighbors who are not his formal *amigri* is a key aspect of the system. A man becomes an *amigri* not to accumulate and hoard wealth, but to dispense it in his neighborhood, to gain prestige and obligations. The distribution of these goods locally is normally done piecemeal as the trading partner's relatives and others ask him for them. Informants, in saying that a man becomes an *amigri* "so that people will like him," explicitly recognize that the main purpose of being a trading partner, and of distributing the goods obtained thereby, is to acquire friends. The people who receive goods from a partner become morally obligated to him until they reciprocate with either an equivalent amount of goods or with services, the latter usually in the form of aid in the trading partner's social disputes and feuds. The *amigri* is usually far from upset if his neighbors do not repay him immediately, for the longer they delay in repayment, the longer period of time they are obligated to him. A trading partner is also likely to be aided by his neighbors in disputes for the additional reason that they wish to protect their future source of supply of trade goods. Altogether, although the usual trading partner is not a community leader, he obtains an above average degree of social security in a society where security is not easily obtained, by exchanging trade goods for friendship and obligations.

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These native traders are the chief means whereby the interior Jívaro have acquired significant quantities of machetes, steel axes, and firearms from the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. Chains of native traders also connect the interior Jívaro with the Canelos tribe to the north and with the Achuara Jivaroans

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574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]

[353] [301] [535] [439] [764] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

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Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsainchi*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

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The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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tsamea, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily.
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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from the frontier Jívaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jívaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jívaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jívaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jívaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jívaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jívaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jívaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jívaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jívaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amiči*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obligation; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
181 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
556 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jívaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jívaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jívaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the